SUBSTANTIVES

Plural.	Singular.	English.
Il-ujeṅga	Ol-ujeṅgani	The fly.
Ing-ujeṅga	Eng-ujeṅgani	The mosquito.
I-mulmulwaka	O-mulmulwakani	The butterfly.
I-sarambakin	E-sarambakinei	The bat, swallow, swift.

Examples of other words which belong to this class:

Il-airukaj	Ol-airukaji	The kidney.
Il-ala	Ol-alai	The tooth, tusk.
Ing-atanda	Eng-atandai	The cloud.
Il-oli	Ol-oli	The spark, stain.
Im-porro	Em-porroi	The quill.
Im-purru	Em-purrui	The smoke.
Im-purum	Em-purumi	The ash.
Il-keko	Ol-kekoi	The thorn, thorny place.
Il-kidoṅga	Ol-kidoṅgai	The tail.
Il-kilileṅ	Ol-kilileṅi	The sheep's dung.
Il-kiyo	Ol-kiyoi	The tear.
Il-mao	Ol-maoi[a]	The twins.
Il-meneṅga	Ol-meneṅgani	The corpse, spirit.
I-soiore	E-soiorei	The egg[b].
I-dapis	E-dapishi	The elf[c].
Il-oikindoṅga	Ol-oikindoṅgai	The seed.
Il-pesh	Ol-peshi	The grain or cob of maize.
Il-piaya	Ol-piayai	The chain.
I-mpiara	O-mpiarai	The arrow.
I-mpiroṅga	E-mpiroṅgai	The iron wire.
I-sesi	E-sesi	The dust.
I-senya	O-senyai	The sand.
Il-tiani	Ol-tiani	The bamboo.
Il-tadatia	Ol-tadatai	The bell, clarinet.

Exceptions.

There are only a few exceptions to this rule. They are as follows:

Il-Maasae	Ol-Maasani	The Masai[d].
Il-Aisuṅgun	Ol-Aisuṅgui	The European[e].
Il-Musuṅgu	Ol-Musuṅgui	The European[e].

[a] Ol-maoi means a child who has a twin brother or sister.

[b] A large egg-shaped cask used for beer, &c., is Ol-soiorei, pl. Il-soiorio.

[c] An unlucky child, or a dwarf, is E-dapishi, pl. I-dapisho.

[d] The original name of the Masai is said to have been Il-Sia (sing. Ol-Siai), and one even now occasionally hears old people using this word, especially when relating stories of former times. According to tradition the present form dates from the introduction by the Swahili traders of a certain kind of bead called Sae or Saen (sing. O-Saeni).

[e] Europeans, or white people, were formerly called 'L-ojuju, the hairy ones. This appellation was afterwards changed to 'L-Aisungun, a corruption of the Swahili word Musungu, which in its turn gave way to the present form.

gliding calm, go around, make kraals, milk(ed) cows, save ajumishore, eats 'e-gere, make ol-kaeria le-iseu-kiteg.

Ore en-dua en-'e-gitoi nee 'e-gejit; meyeu Il-Masaai 'e-gejit, eese ninje en-dua en-'e-gitoi.

Ore tshili ten meny eng-ai ake, meyeu 'Ngerityok enkolili 'e-gejit Il-kilani pe etum entomi eng-di.

Ene, ten ther el-merreni el-eyitoi le-ebun, enligere el-eyitoi 'e-gejit enaiye, nee ten ebil el-merreni 'e-gejit elodigita el-eyitoi, nemolitoki ene.

Ore el ten tureure 'l-Masaai 'l-enalgani, y' eiyita enlanye e-ebun, enlanye 'e-gejit tiindanye.

Ene, ten enlayeanye 'l-meresa te-'e-jore, pe ogilaki 'l-entarolitie, nemolitoki, elodigita en-dia-eng-ani e-kulie angakaruere 'e-gejit emanyani.

Ene, ten eidori, nemolitoki 'enimain le-gejit.

Ene, ten emiyoki el-tuligani 'e-gejit, nemoirub e-emiyoto, eiji: "Ol-nerilitoi ilit, emiyoki 'e-gitoi."

Ene, ten elo el-tuligani weji, pe ebil el-dumi tiumaitoe eng-

him a cow, which he looks after and tends, it bears, and by so doing enables him to live, for he can marry, and have children, and thus become rich. 233 181 [554]

Now cattle feed on grass, and the Masai love grass on this account. [824]

824

Whenever there is a drought, the women fasten grass on to their clothes, and go and offer up prayers to God. [782]

If a warrior beats a boy on the grazing ground, the boy tears up some grass, and when the warrior sees that the child has grass in his hand, he stops beating him.

Again, if the Masai fight with an enemy, and wish to make peace, they hold out some grass as a sign. [928]

Whenever warriors return from a raid, and it is desired to praise those who have killed some of the enemy, a girl takes a small gourd of milk, and having covered it with green grass, sprinkles it over them. [703]

Then, if people move from one kraal to another, they tie grass on to the gourds.

Should one man ask forgiveness of another with grass in his hand and his request be not attended to, it is said that the man who refuses to listen to his prayer is a Dorobo, and that he does not know about cattle. [827] [186]

Again, if a man who is proceeding on a journey sees a tree which has [484]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

'N-daiki.

Nəji en-daa oo-'l-Maasae paa kulle ɛ́ok il-mórusk, oo 'ligorɔ́yok, oo 'l-ayok, oo 'n-doiya.

Naa 'l-muran ake oorte 'l-mɔ́ŋgi o-sero sapwo sayɛ́ŋ: ore 'n-gulye-olɛ́ŋgi nepwo 'ng-aŋgite sook kulle, kake metoni 'l-apaitin aare eitu ɛyɛ́ŋgisho.

Pɔ́ki pe etum il-mórusk oo 'ligorɔ́yok oo 'l-ayok áinoos 'n-giri, neinos. Áinos en-gitɛ́ŋ ten ɛ́k openy, arraki etaŋgoro ol-asurai, arraki áinoos ol-ɔ́waru.

Meiyɛu 'l-mórusk loo-'l-Maasae nɛyɛ́ŋ in-giaku enye peabo, meata eng-olat natadua: ore ol-tuŋgani onyor in-giri nɛ́jo ol-Torɔ́bɔni.

Ten eiabo e-ligorɔ́yɔni, nɛyɛ́ŋgi ol-kitɛ́ŋ eiahoriaki e-ilata.

Ten emenayu e-ligorɔ́yɔni, nemeishori 'n-daiki supati. Ten eiyɛu 'n-giri, neishori 'l-oik arraki 'n-giri tasati: ten eishori kulle, nepiki eng-arr.

Enyor sii 'l-Maasae o-sarge. Ɛgur in-giaku too-'n-gɛnda, naŋgur too-'l-ligoreta. Ore pe ɛo en-gitɛ́ŋ, neiwɔu too-'l-pukurto. Nɛok kulikae erok, netii 'l-oopik kulle.

Food.

Amongst the Masai the principal food of the old men, the women, and the children is milk. 262

The warriors alone drive bullocks into the forest, and slaughter them there: at other times they go to the married people's kraals and drink milk, but they never remain for two months together without slaughtering.

Whenever the old men, the women, and the boys are able to do so, they likewise eat meat. They also eat an ox if it dies a natural death [1], or if it is bitten by a snake, or if a beast of prey has killed it.

The Masai elders, however, do not slaughter their cattle without good cause, and a man who is very fond of meat is called a Dorobo. [186]

Whenever a woman gives birth to a child, a bullock is slaughtered, and she is given the fat. [846]

A pregnant woman is not given good food. When she wants meat, she is given bones or lean scraps; and when she wants milk, water is mixed with it. [843]

The Masai are also very fond of blood. They tie a leather ligature round the neck of a beast and pierce a vein with an arrow, the shaft of which has been blocked. When the blood gushes forth, they catch it [415]

[1] The Shilluk and other Nilotic tribes also eat cattle which have died a natural death (Gessi, *Seven Years in the Soudan*, p. 92, &c.). [121] [115]

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

permanent by the present administrative arrangement, but were not established by it. The land which divides the Samburu in the north from the Kapiti in the south of Kenya, was once the home of the Laikipiak and the Uasin Gishu Masai. In those days, Masailand was a continuous strip of land stretching over the plains south of Mt. Kilimanjaro and Mt. Meru up to the shores of Lake Rudolph. At the end of 19th century a great cattle plague and, even more, civil wars (the Kapiti versus the Laikipiak and Uasin Gishu) wrought havoc among the latter, who were almost destroyed. The few remnants have been absorbed by other Masai tribes, especially the Kapiti and the Kisonga. The Laikipiak plains west of Nanyuki which in 1904 had first been set aside as a special reserve (the Northern Masai reserve), were subsequently declared open to European settlement, and by 1911 Agreement the Southern Masai Reserve was enlarged into what is now the Extra Provincial District of the Masai in Kenya Colony.*

* * *

A comparative analysis of the literature shows the existence of three graded territorial units, the major and the minor territorial sections, and the village. A character common to the first two sections is the absence of a clear limit or boundary. The sections are spoken of in terms of watering and grazing rights. The nomadic aspect of Masai life is chiefly responsible for this territorial vagueness. The absence of any centralized authority to check people and cattle's transhumance is another important cause of the vagueness of Masai territorial organization.

The major territorial section is made up by the area in which the movements of a full tribe usually take place. The existence of

* SANDFORD, *An Administrative and Political History of the Masai Reserve*, London 1918, Appendix; *E. L. C. E.*, p. 188. One may note that the Uasin Gishu and the Laikipiak, together with the Siria and the Lumbwa were despised as inferior, for they were not considered as " pure Masai " by the other tribes who regarded themselves as descendants of Mamindo. See FOSBROOKE, p. 7. This ill-feeling may explain in part, the fury with which the Kapiti fought against the Laikipiak and the Uasin Gishu.

In December 1946. I visited the Ndigiri Dorobo at Dol Dol on the Mukogodo Hills, some 80 miles north west of Nanyuki. They claim to have been dependent on the Laikipiak Masai, and they survived the slaughter thanks to their seclusion in the forests. Their present outlook seems to be entirely Masai. The custom of their age-classes are consonant with those [illegible] Masai.

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

727 the property of the successful warriors. A warrior can
[721] have no property, and hence they all become his father's.

The spoil being divided, the party were next able to do full honour to the men lost in the raid—these being considered worthy of all praise "who rush into the field, and foremost fighting *fall*," while men who die ignobly at home are only worthy to be despised and thrown to the vultures. Hence the warriors howled and jumped into the air in the dance, till the dead were duly commemorated.

648 In this manner, Mowa saw a good deal of fighting, and soon rose to fame in many a campaign to U-kamba, Galla-land, the Coast region, Sûk, Kavirondo, Elgumi, and Nandi. The two latter tribes proved to be the most difficult to deal with, the one from its great numbers, the other from its fighting powers.

649 Civil war next broke out, and he had to proceed to the assistance of his brethren of Naivasha, who were hard pressed by the Wa-kwafi. In these civil wars, the affair was gone about in a very civilized fashion. Sudden and unexpected attacks were not indulged in. A cause of war was first discovered—probably, as in more civilized countries, merely to keep their hands in or as an outlet for internal unrest. Preliminaries were then settled most amicably, and the stakes arranged. A place was next chosen as the field of battle, and to this all the warriors of the two districts came with their cattle and young women. As the fighting would be protracted, a truce was declared, while kraals were built in the opposing camps. A certain number then proceeded from both sides, and like gladiators in the arena, they closed in furious strife, spurred to deeds of daring by the women on both sides. The Wa-kwafi were the conquerors, and the cattle of the Masai fell into their hands; and following up their advantage, they nearly drove their brethren from the entire region. (Of this war I have already spoken.)

522 As a mild *relief*, and a variation from these serious matters,
186 it was the dearest delight of our swaggering young friend Mowa to "draw the badger" in the person of the Swahili porters who might be meekly endeavouring to pass through his country. These he would dub "donkeys," in allusion to their being burden-bearers like those interesting quadrupeds. He could keep the kraal in a roar of delight, as he described how he had *frightened* this one *out* of his wits, or spitted another on his spear, or smashed the skull 431 of a third into jelly. The sewaygh and the beads he re-

10: Elliott U-5 (no date) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12 Kisonko

THE COIFFEUR OF THE MASAI WARRIOR

By H. F. I. Elliott

It is surprising to find that in Hollis' standard work on the Masai there is no precise description of the head gear of the 'morani' or warrior. No doubt the fashion has been described somewhere, but some details of present day practice in Tanganyika Masailand may perhaps be put on record here.

Of all the distinctive features of the Masai, this is the one which attracts most attention from the casual traveller and invites references to 'Roman Centurions', 'Red Indians' and the like. Its advertisement value is certainly considerable and not ignored by the Masai in their conscious or unconscious efforts to preserve their identity. Certainly removal of the coiffeur and its concomitant red ochre has a surprising effect in obliterating Hamitic characteristics of feature and bringing out those derived from the now liberal admixture of 'Bantu' blood.

It is still so customary for youths after circumcision to adopt the traditional garb, even though they may be sons of progressive parents and themselves have been to school, that there might well be an 'old school pigtail' for graduates of the Masai school. It is by no means unusual to hear a pair of pig-tailed and ochred 'morani' discussing their performances in some inter-house football match of their school days, while leaning on their spears in the precincts of a cattle market.

There are many varieties of head gear to be found in Tanganyika, one, two, three or more pigtails, the 'ridged helmet' style, heavily plastered and heavily braided styles, but it seems to be purely a matter of fashion and not linked with clan, section, age set or even locality (except in so far as fashions naturally tend to be localised). The construction of all is basically the same and the result is covered by the single term 'Ol deika'.

The materials used in the head gear are as follows:

(i) a length or lengths of pliant but straight stick one foot to fifteen inches long, cut from the tree known as 'O-oiteti' (*Tarchonanthus indicus* L.; the name is also applied to the shrub *Grewia* which may serve the same purpose at highland altitudes).

(ii) a strip of the inner skin of a sheep an inch wide and two or more feet in length.

(iii) several feet of fine string made from ox gut or tendon.

(iv) a short or long cord made from the 'olorienyi' tree. This tree is, I think, correctly identified by Hollis with a species of fig, *Ficus Sturhsteinii*, the cord being prepared from the aerial rootlets. But there is some doubt in the matter which perhaps a reader of this note may get an opportunity to clear up. For Battiscombe

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

barter is of little economic significance, except that it is the duty of the warriors to get cattle by raiding. In the division of work, the principle mainly concerned are the sex-differentiated boys, the girls, and the women. The boys do most of the herding, assisted by the elders. Women and girls milk and act as servants to the warriors. The girls do household work till they are old enough to become brides of the warriors, when they do very little work. The greater part of the work thus falls on the older women, who besides doing or supervising the milking and other ordinary household tasks like fetching water and firewood, build the huts, load and drive the donkeys when moving, prepare skins for clothing, and trade with neighbouring tribes for food and other things. The warriors need to be occupied exclusively either with war or preparations for war, or with dancing, visiting, and making love. Their military activities have today been replaced by certain tasks connected with cattle, and by cattle-stealing and raids on neighbouring tribes. The senior elders are occupied with political matters, and some of them with the instruction and control of the initiates and younger warriors; they also help with the herding, and take part in trading with the neighbouring peoples.

The only specialists in the economic sphere are the smiths, *il-kunono*, sing. *ol-kunono*, who live segregated from the rest of the Masai, and among whom there are, I believe, no warriors. They have a distinctly inferior status, and are despised by the Masai, who all their lives have to buy everything from a smith. As one finds the smiths Masai now dependent of iron ore, such as those in the Mokogodo district, but nowadays the availability of trade-iron has given them greater freedom of movement. They make the iron-work used by the Masai, including spears, swords, and ornaments.

Though, according to Hollis, a few Masai women make pottery, the Masai as a rule buy their pots from the Swahili.

Food

Except among the agricultural Masai, no cereal or vegetable food at all is grown, nor was it eaten in the old days by warriors, whose diet consisted of meat, milk, and blood, the latter providing the necessary salt. The animals eaten included those that were cattle, buffalo, *ol-oiboni*, and eland, *n-gare*, which they considered to be related to cattle, and therefore fit to eat.[1] Warriors were not allowed to eat honey, to drink honey-wine, or to take tobacco, though some took snuff. Children and married people eat vegetable food, and the meat of cattle which die a natural death. Warriors when they want to eat meat, build a rough shelter called *al-pul* in the bush where, accompanied by a boy to do the work, small groups feast upon the meat of an ox supplied by the father of one of their members. The elder who supplies the ox is given some of the meat, and this is one of the regular sources of meat for married people, for meat eating is the regular practice of warriors. Men and women do not eat together, and fish, fowls, eggs, and game other than buffalo and eland are not eaten by any Masai.

Trade

Since the Masai are not self-supporting, they have to trade with the Dorobo and, especially, *il-meek*, whom they despise, in order to get what they want. Their chief suppliers are the Kikuyu, Chagga, and Taveta, and for certain things, notably honey and honey, the Dorobo. The media of exchange are cattle (and, formerly, and otherwise unsatisfactory coins), and and thus goats and sheep, donkeys, hides, and tallow. The principal goods brought are food (maize, millet, sorghum and tobacco, which they get from the Dorobo; the chief suppliers of meat are Indian traders, often Sikhs,

[1] Lumbwa state that the Masai buy their cattle from the Kikuyu (*J.R.A.I.* LX, p. 408), this may well be the case now the Kikuyu border, though it is perhaps a recent development.

[2] The Galla also consider the buffalo to be the equivalent of the ox. Paulitschke, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrika*, chap. XX, Gaul.

from each side suckled each other's babies. Peace was then kept till it suited one side to break it. With Bantu tribes the Masai sometimes made mock blood-brotherhood with intent to deceive, for they have no blood-brotherhood of their own. As among the Nandi, grass is a sign of peace, and a handful of grass constitutes a plea for mercy recognized by the Masai and those whom they count as more or less their equals, the *Il-maŋati* or "enemies," such as other pastoralists, but not *Il-meek*, the Bantu agricultural tribes.

Legal functions

The Masai legal system seems to be less organized than that of the Nandi, and to depend even more on the force of public opinion than on the position and status of the council leader. It appears that only in cases of homicide is there anything like a regular procedure. The Masai distinguish between intentional and accidental homicide, the difference being that for the latter there is no blood feud and the amount of compensation is smaller. The number of blood-cattle paid as compensation, *ishinka oo-l-oikop*, "murder cattle," varies, but may be as high as two to three hundred for a man; Hollis says 50 for a boy, and Merker 10 head of cattle and 10 goats and sheep for a woman. Fosbrooke gives the figures as 40 for a circumcised man, and 20 for a woman or uncircumcised man. The Il-Arusa are recognized as a group which pays and receives blood-cattle. The murder may be avenged by the dead person's brothers who may try to kill the murderer; and if compensation is not paid, the ensuing feud may involve all agnatic kinsmen on both sides. It is not clear whether killing of the murderer makes the avengers also liable to compensation. If the victim belongs to the same sub-clan as the murderer, no compensation is payable. If they belong to different sub-clans of the same clan, or to different clans, all members of the murderer's sub-clan contribute, and the cattle are divided among the members of the victim's sub-clan after his senior brother has received half the stock. When a settlement has been made, peace is made between the families concerned by an exchange of garments. Maguire gives details of three methods of dealing with cases of murder. (1) The relatives of the victim take all the murderer's cattle; they hold a council and, after giving a few cattle to certain elders and old women, the bull-oxen, herd-leaders, and cows near calving are returned to the owner; the rest they divide among themselves. (2) If action is not taken at once, the relatives of the murderer send a stick to the relatives of the victim, the acceptance of which implies an agreement to meet and settle the matter, and compensation is arranged, the figure named being 40 head of cattle, with nine more added to symbolize the human body (reckoned by the number of its orifices). (3) Sometimes the relatives of the victim do not take action for two years or more; they then raid the murderer's kraal by night and demand the number they want. For killing a smith, *ol-kunut*, no compensation was payable, nor was there a blood feud. If a smith killed a Masai, several warriors set out and killed several smiths. Theft (except of cattle) is apparently considered of little account: "if a Masai steals milk or meat or other small things, he is not fined. Grown-up people rarely steal," says Hollis. For cattle theft, the thieves when caught were fined, seven head from each man concerned.

The general principle that a man is entitled to compensation for a wrong suffered is recognized by all Masai; and this recognition is extended to "foreigners like Dorobo, provided the people concerned are well known to each other. On being accused a man may submit to an oath, *ol-mumai*. In some cases a diviner of the type called *ol-gnisiki* by Merker is employed to find a guilty person. The whole subject of Masai legal institutions needs detailed investigation.

Modern administration

The Masai political structure has proved even more difficult of adaptation than that of the Nandi, since it lacked the clear-cut *perowet* divisions of the latter. Up to 1918 the chief laibon in Kenya was accepted by the Administration as a paramount

M 614 [186] /18/ The 'L aiser and El mŭleljan to a certain extent stand in contrast to the El meñgana, whom they half-mockingly, half-abusively also call 'N dalata-gutok (1)

M [192] 1. 'N dalata, gluttons, en gutok, the mouth: by putting the two words together the idea of the first is supposed to be intensified.

M [192] or Eńg-adji-nagŭl-alai (2),

2. = the house of the hard teeth: nagŭl = hard, el alai, the teeth.

M [173] [191] and, in contradistinction to them, designate themselves as Eńg adji el masai. As the reason for this, tradition relates that the El meñgana were once separated for a longer period of time from the other two tribes and, upon reuniting, made a bad impression because they no longer observed the divine commandment forbidding the killing of female animals for consumption. This gave rise to the above nicknames, which, freely translated, mean "greedy gluttons."

M 613 The El bedjé and El goré are not infrequently designated as El aisegels, a name formed after that of a war leader, Os segŭl. As the reason for the combination, it was said that members of the two sublineages were once notorious cattle thieves.

M 791 [613] [154] The most outstanding lineage, not only of the 'L aiser tribe, but of the whole Masai people, is the El gidoñ, because both the family of the chief (el olboni) and that of the sorcerer (el goiseki) belong to it. The designation "chief" is actually not quite correct, since the el olboni does not rule directly and does not exercise any real executive power. He rules only indirectly: the firm belief of his subjects in his prophetdom and in his supernatural ability of sorcery gives him an influence over the destinies of the people. Despotism and cruelty, such as we find among all Negro rulers, are foreign to him. He is less a ruler than a national saint or a patriarch, in whom the Wakuafi and Asé also see their head. The people speak of his saintly person in timid awe, and no one would

M [829]

D [791]

306 /116 cont./
301 the wives of the blacksmiths. Smaller ornamental objects of wire
325 are made by the other Masai women. The small chains of iron and
[462] copper wire are not made by the Masai themselves, but are bought
[439] ready-made from the caravan people or the sedentary neighboring tribes.

XIV.

000 Character. -- National pride. -- Disrespect for foreigners. -- Designation of foreigners. -- The Masai in the service of the European. -- Attitude of the Masai living among his people toward the European. -- The Masai toward their kind. -- Hospitality -- Position of the woman. -- How the Negro illustrates the character of the Masai. -- Expression of emotions and other gestures. -- Strength of vision. -- Art sense. -- Color sense. -- Orientation ability. -- Song. -- Ideal of beauty of the human body.

186 The most outstanding trait in the character of the Masai is their
799 national pride which is based on the religious view that they are the
829 chosen people of God. God created the world and all that is in it
[81] only for them. All non-Masai are subject to the Masai people and their property belongs to them. This explains the haughtiness and the deep disdain toward the sedentary Negroes, who are not familiar with 'Ng ai and have no share in the good things created by him and who therefore are condemned to wrest their daily food from the
[461] soil in the sweat of work. On the other hand, God cares for the Masai as for his children, they need not work: "ai dokira ngiti sidai a work is not good, everything belongs to them anyway, and, since the Negroes do not give it voluntarily, the Masai take it by force. In fact, the Negro, in the opinion of the Masai, only has justification for existence as keeper of the livestock created by 'Ng ai for the Masai.

186 In general the Masai designates all non-Masai as ai ilag (sing. ai ngolk, a term that is to be translated as "unbeliever." /117/ The Masai does not know friendship and loyalty toward the

/117 cont./

186 unbelievers, every trick, every deception is permitted against them.
[101] In particular other names exist for distinctions. For the tribes racially related to them these names are derived from their places of residence, in connection with which it is to be noted that for these the Masai have their own nomenclature. For Europeans he uses the 'l aisúnju derived or transformed from the Kisuaheli. Finally, he calls the Negroes el maûar (sing. el mafarinda), which is to be translated appropriately with "the savages" and corresponds to the word Washensi with which coast the people designate the Negroes of the interior.

181 The first impression which the Masai, in comparison with the Negroes, makes on the European is definitely very much to his advantage. The handsome, tall figures are charming in themselves from the first and often make haughtiness and insolence appear as pride and candor, which stand in pleasant contrast to the hypocritically flaunted, groveling submission of the Negroes.

829 A certain distinction is really not to be denied the Masai. In this respect he stand high above the average Negro. It is significant that for him only the thrusting weapon -- spear and sword -- is regarded as worthy of a Negro. He has a profound contempt for the Negro hands shooting with poisoned arrows treacherously from the bush, whereas he judges this situation more leniently in connection with the Tatoga in the process of sharp decline, who are able to muster only very meager fighting forces. He therefore also condones the use of guns, at least in part, by the divisions, numerically weak, of the Protectorate Troops. It seems to him justified against the poisoned arrows, but he does not by any means regard it as noble and decent compared with his thrusting weapons. Thus, a small Masai youth, who was in my service for several years as a boy, often reproached me in the aforesaid way.

/119 cont./

179 that" (1).
181
609
829

1. When, after receiving news of an ugly misdemeanor or crime, I spoke to one or another more trustworthy Masai about the unknown culprit, I often heard: It was surely not a Masai. A Masai would not do anything like that. Such things do not happen among the Masai.

Though he may know better, he accuses an el m̄ēgi just as unhesitatingly as he absolves a fellow tribesman (2).

[Ewi 326]

2. It may be mentioned here that, according to my observation, the insincerity and dishonesty of the people belonging to the blacksmith caste are decidedly greater than that of the other Masai, so that it seems as if the contempt and bad treatment that the former experience from the latter have bred an inferiority of character in the course of the milleniums.

829 The mental superiority of the European impresses him only in such cases where it has convicted him of some villainy, while his technical skills reek far too much of the despised "el kunyi" to the Masai to seem worth notice. It is solely the *gun* of the Protectorate Troops that obtain for the white man respect and influence among the Masai and have made this manner race of East Africa somewhat more modest.

• 186 181 The picture becomes more gratifying if one observes the Masai in intercourse with his own kind. Dabisi ab gatok nidai el masai " make a good mouth toward the Masai, that is, be good, friendly, sincere toward your fellow tribesmen.

/119 cont./

The Masai are animated by a deep feeling of solidarity; they stand united against all foreigners. A sincere attachment and love bind the individual members of the family; they vie with one another in order to free a relative who has fallen into slavery. Thus, in 1896, the Masai who returned from the Berlin Exposition immediately used the greater part of their savings to buy back relatives who had become slaves during the great livestock epidemics around the year 1890. The tightest bond between parents, especially the mother, and children, as well as between brothers and sisters, looser between married people, where the lowly, oppressed position of the wife is of some importance.

The men scorn any kind of work. Only waging war is worthy of a man. Large herds of livestock and many wives are his supreme happiness. One who has both enjoys respect and prestige. One looks down on a poor devil. Truly poor people, however, are exceptions, since relatives support one another in generous ways. One who does not have such quickly finds accommodations as a rule with one who is well-to-do. He receives food and for that helps the women and children of his benefactor with their work (livestock-tending, kraal-building, night watch for the small livestock, etc.). The condition of /120/ poverty is so always only of brief duration; the poor man soon acquires some prosperity again through gifts from friends or a share of the spoils of war. Toward friends, one is just as generous as one is good-natured; the hospitality to countrymen, no matter where they come from (with the exception of the blacksmiths, of course), is unlimited. Everyone offers a visitor whatever he happens to have in food and drink. Everything that the stranger needs or wishes is at his disposal. He reserves for himself a hut for the night by sticking his spear in the ground in front of it; the host then seeks other quarters for the night and leaves home and wife to the guest. If a woman comes for visit, the wife leaves the hut for the night, so that the stranger may take her place. Hospitality toward other peoples is known only if peace is concluded with them through the ceremony of blood-exchange or through blood friendship. The cruelty of the Masai is no greater than that of the other black peoples, for example, the Negroes neighboring the Masai. If they

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776 779 improvement. He then does this through sickness, drought, or cattle epidemics.

779 721 [186] The Masai feel that they are the chosen people of 'Ng ai: all other peoples should be subject to them. God created the world with all that is in it only for them, and thus everything on earth belongs to them. If they obtain booty in war against another tribe, they are only taking what has been given to them by God for their own, what lawfully belongs to them, and what that tribe is unlawfully withholding from them. "If the el mgg would voluntarily give us our property, for that is what the livestock in their possession is, we should not have to make war on them. But since they do not do this, we are forced into war." And they are constantly waging this war against the despised, savage heathen, who know nothing about 'Ng ai and do not pray to him, but to spirits, which is why he does not assist them and always makes the Masai victors for a worthy cause.

776 779 In their journey through life God protects the Masai through guardian angels, who are pictured as winged, invisible beings of human form. The guardian angels are the same sex as their protégés: a male individual has an ol doinyani l Ng ai, a female one an eh goojani Ng ai, watching over them. The angel accompanies the person always and everywhere and protects him from dangers, so that he will not succumb in the struggle for existence before the lifetime previously set for him by God has run out; only then does the person [795] die. The angel carries his soul /785/ to the other world and then undertakes the protection of a child born on the same day. Every day a Masai dies and every day one is born, the people say.

795 779 Into the other world (ai gwambo = cloud land, i.e., the land where the clouds come from) go the souls of all the deceased, both those of the Masai and of non-Masai, both those of the good and those of the bad people. As soon as a soul reaches the portal of the other world, which lies far to the north (Kapeiuki), God decides its future fate. The souls of good people gain entry into paradise, which is equipped with all the beauties and splendors of nature. Lush pastures with fat cattle alternate with lakes, rivers, and cool glades whose trees bear the most delicious fruits. In the midst of this splendor the good souls live in human fashion, but without care, trouble, or

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XXII.

000 Law. -- Concerning family and personal rights, cf. 2nd Part, II, IV, and XX. -- Property rights. -- Things found. -- Barter or purchase. -- Liability of the relatives for debts, gift. -- Penal law. -- Murder and manslaughter. -- Revenge. -- Composition. -- Negligent homicide. -- Bodily injury of various degrees. -- Accomplices. -- Immoral offenses. -- Suicide. -- Kidnapping. -- Theft. -- Treason. -- Arson. -- Cowardice in war. -- Death penalty. -- Fines. -- Degrading punishment of warriors. -- Compensation for innocent accused persons. -- The mentally ill. -- Warning. -- Legal proceedings. -- Courts. -- Example of a /211/ criminal case. -- Inquiry about an unknown culprit; -- Pleading. -- Swearing to the truth. -- Torture for exacting the truth. -- Ordeals in the search for truth. -- Sorcery procedures. -- No international prosecution of criminal deeds.

691 As awareness and understanding of justice are very little developed among the Masai. Therefore only a small number of customary [184] legal provisions exist, which are by no means uniform for all Masai, but rather often enough vary in the different districts. As nomads, [361] among whom individual families frequently live alone or with their closest relatives in a kraal, by themselves, without having neighbors in the larger vicinity, they make do with fewer laws than another tribe whose numerous members are supposed to live within definite fixed limits in permanent order and peace. Furthermore, the nomadic life in and of itself leads to a freer conception of life, which opposes bondage through laws and often prefers to let might [193] come before right. But in order to understand the great inconsist- [419] ency in individual legal decisions, one must above all take into [186] consideration the feeling of solidarity, which is strongest in the family and always still strong enough in the tribe to ensure from the first great prejudice against anyone who does not belong to the 593 tribe. The questions concerning family and personal rights have

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*539 *773 *191 *121 304 as the closest association of ideas circumcision -- conception -- birth. Therefore circumcision is regarded here as a means, even though not necessary for conception, nevertheless desirable for it and promoting it. We find the same thought in the Bible, where God in Gen. 17, 6, when he announces to the 99-year-old, childless Abraham the sign of the covenant, i.e., circumcision, says "And I will make thee exceeding fruitful, and I will make nations of thee."

According to the preceding, the circumcision of boys seems to owe its origin to the view that it increases the procreative ability of the man. Quod judicium positum est in experientia, virum membro circumciso coire longius, feminam magis irritari. Virî membro non circumciso collecta seminis ejaculatio accelleretur, saepe nimia, priusquam feminae voluptas veneres culmen ascenderet. Membro circumciso seminis ejaculatio retardatur et cum voluptatis veneream culmine congruit, quod ad conceptionem efficiendam fructum est. /It is a judgment based on experience that a man with a circumcised organ has intercourse longer, and excites the woman more. The ejaculation of semen of a man having intercourse with an uncircumcised organ is speeded up, sometimes too much, before the sexual pleasure of the woman reaches a climax. When the organ has been circumcised, the ejaculation of semen is slowed down and coincides with the climax of sexual pleasure, which is favorable to bringing about conception./ This leads to the conjecture that the lawgiver who introduced the circumcision of boys was acting with the intention of promoting conception and along with that increasing the number of births, i.e., multiplying the people. Circumcision [171] became a preparation for marriage and, accordingly, is still carried out by the Masai, as among other primitive peoples, only after the onset of puberty. A later age made it a tribal symbol for the Israelites and Masai and, as such, moved it among the former to earlier childhood. Through the belief -- strong in Israel as well • [186] as among the Masai -- in the divine favor before other peoples, the tribal symbol then became a visible sign of this, from which is derived the explanation of circumcision as a symbol of religious

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poetry (1).

1. That circumcision among the Israelites -- as is assumed -- attained religious significance only during the Exile is refuted. It seems to me, by the use of the stone knife in earliest times.

as the Bible often designates it.

Circumcision certainly does not owe its origin to considerations of cleanliness -- as one so often hears -- since the desire for cleanliness could be satisfied more simply in other ways and without an operation not always entirely safe. Furthermore, we also find this custom preferred precisely among those peoples who certainly do not attach any particular value to cleanliness. Moreover, however, I also doubt that /331/ the utility of circumcision in the matter of cleanliness is actually so great, for among the only very scantily clad primitive peoples the part in question is so much more exposed to the effect of dust, etc. and injury by thorns, spicy leaves, blossoms, and grasses than it would be otherwise.

The circumcision of girls among primitive peoples may also be interpreted as a preparation for marriage. Among the Ibosi, besides the point in time at which it is undertaken, the way of life of the girls before and after the operation argues in favor of this. Clitoride excise libido diminutive et cohabitandi cupiditas minuere. /Clitoridean excision lessens desire and, in cohabiting, restrains passion./ This has, in the opinion of the people, great advantages for the growing and suckling child, as is also shown by the continuous rules of the Ibosi during pregnancy and the suckling period.

As we know, the Bible knows of no circumcision of the girls. That such was customary in Egypt, however, even during the oldest Biblical period, is taught by the 15th of the British papyri, in which there is mention of the circumcision of the girl Tamit, *the daughter of Nefert of Memphis. Here, too, the girls were circumcised at the age of puberty* (1).

1. Plum. "Das Kind in Brauch und Sitte der

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182 caused the Masai people in the period before the occupation of the
731 country by Europeans. I have no reliable observations made by myself
233 or by Europeans. Such can scarcely exist, for at that time the Masai were a feared power that every caravan likes to avoid. I am therefore relying on the statements of old men. According to their recollection, the epidemics were never capable of producing actual famine. As soon as the beginning of an epidemic was observed, the Masai fled in wild flight with the herds, leaving the sick animals lying along the way. Half the herd at most is supposed to have succumbed. If one considers the size of the herds at that time, one understands that the surviving part could always still furnish sufficient milk and meat.
[721] Furthermore, the war expeditions soon brought substitutes for the fallen animals and thus acted to preserve prosperity (2).

> 2. It is to be inserted here that empirically Ikemuck's epidemics caused few losses for the sedentary Negro practicing animal husbandry along with agriculture. This is probably chiefly due to the fact that he calls only very few head his own and keeps these in his hut, which is far from the next one. Though that the Masai were able to replenish their depleted herds quickly and easily.

182 Finally, the Masai's profound contempt for the surrounding Negro
• 731 tribes was also favorable for the preservation of the people. It kept the people free of foreign elements, which here would only have resulted in a degeneration of the race.

121 The fable that primitive peoples would have continued to develop
177 peacefully and favorably if Europeans, with their corruption, had not disturbingly interfered has long been recognized as such. On the other hand, however, it remains an /349/ undeniable fact that these peoples decline upon contact with the higher cultures, and that many even disappear as a people. The reason for this phenomenon lies in the fact that these peoples have already been living on an unhealthy basis and have owed their preservation to causes that we designate as

18 Merker--473 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL13 Masai FL13

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182 931 had been seen with the bleaching skulls of those who had starved and
out of the stricken animals. Any of the women and girls who had not
died of hunger sought and found refuge among Negroes practicing
[348] agriculture, who always like to buy or kidnap female individuals.
A mother would sell her child for a handful of maize and would sell
herself a day later for a similar price. In order to avoid starvation.
Negroes and cannibals /349/ took possession of the will-less ones, in
order to resell them as slaves. Many have since come back, in part
through flight, in part through redemption by their relatives, but
more are still found in strange hands. The latter, even though their
blood lives on beneficially in the new mixture with Negroes, are
182 931 669 permanently lost to the Masai people. So greatly has the misfortune,
to which an opposite effect is so often attributed, broken up the
former organization, the firm unity, that, soon after the end of the
epidemics, the unhappy quarrel between the brothers Lenana-Lenolen
about the undivided rule over the Masai could begin. With its con-
cluding civil war it acts powerfully toward the completion of the
destructive work of the epidemics. The Negroes, with whom alone
[724] [725] [187] the Masai formerly waged war, except for smaller undertakings
among themselves, which have more the character of provocations
than of serious battles, were opponents inferior to them. Now equal
parties stand opposite each other, which makes the wars bloodier,
more destructive.

178 29 [433] [341] Through increasing impoverishment as a result of these epidemics
and civil wars, there is now going on among the Masai -- as formerly
among the Wakuafi -- a change from nomadism to sedentarism.
Agriculture is taking the place of animal husbandry. The ones
deserting the "people" in this manner are founding settlements, in
part self-sufficient, in part supported by Negro tribes, somewhat
removed from the dry steppes, there where the watering is adequate
for the laying out of plantings. No one expects them to prove to be
particularly skilful at this; but Nature, which goes so far to meet
her children in the tropics, helps here too. A tenderness wavering
sufficed to make the banana shoot stuck in the virgin soil grow and
produce tubers. Maize for the most part appears just as easily
satisfied as advantageous. These then are the principal useful plants

/this cont./

its effect. Raised as faithless and despised as agriculturists, the sedentary ones are constantly plagued by raids that not only cause them great loss in human lives, but also take away any possibility for them to arrive at any improvement in their way of life by keeping livestock for the attainment of the meat and milk diet so necessary for them. Moreover, the frequent intercourse with sedentary Negroes and caravan people leads to an increase in the cases of venereal diseases. Premature marriages of girls, which can not happen among the Masai still living as nomads, is not rare among the sedentary ones and often enough leads to the death of the young woman who is scarcely more than a child and whose bony structure, despite her attained capability to conceive, is not yet developed. Finally, it must still be mentioned that no doubt the longing for the formerly free life in the broad steppes and the feeling of humiliation over having become a so deeply despised cultivator of the soil counsel are factors that have a wasting effect. The latter circumstance also brings with it a decrease of national pride. The barrier that kept Negroes out of the community of the Masai has fallen. A disadvantageous mixture hurting the people is slowly taking place. Among the Wakuafi this process was more rapid in their period. At that time no European administration prevented their raiding expeditions to Negro regions, from which they brought home livestock and women experienced in agriculture.

In frequent -- almost daily -- intercourse that now springs up and then continues to exist between the Masai who have become sedentary and the settled Negroes, the Masai naturally also share in the disadvantages that /all/ come to the Negroes through the encounter of their lower culture with our higher one.

We have seen how many difficulties acclimatization brings to the Masai, and it is therefore not surprising that a part of those who have already become sedentary give up their first settlements again after repeated failures. These then often join the Wanderstämme, to live by hunting, and call themselves Ilo.